

# OSS & the Frankfurt School: Recycling the “Damaged Lives of Cultural Outsiders” Susan Cavin, Ph.D. (1948-2010)

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## Abstract

American intelligence agencies during World War II recycled European sociologists and psychologists to analyze German radio propaganda, study American radio music and programming to boost morale at home, and to psychoanalyze Hitler. Frankfurt School sociologists Theodor Adorno, Paul Lazarsfeld, Herta Herzog, who along with Erich Fromm, originally worked on Adorno's classic *The Authoritarian Personality* were involved in the Princeton Radio Project, which later morphed into Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Research. Lazarsfeld, Adorno and Herzog did research on American radio for OWI/ONI. Sociologists Herbert Marcuse and Hans Speier, as well as psychologist Ernst Kris worked for OSS. The work of Erik Erikson was also utilized by American intelligence. How the theories of these radical refugee scholars was used by military intelligence will be discussed.

## Author's Keywords

OSS, military intelligence, Frankfurt School, radio propaganda, psychoanalysis of Hitler's mind

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The relationship between sociology, psychology, and Office of Strategic Services (OSS) espionage represents one of the most fascinating, but closeted triangles in recent American intellectual history. OSS was laughingly referred to as “Oh So Social” because its ranks were filled with upper class old boys and society girls. In a period that spanned only four years (1941-1945), the OSS and Office of Wartime Information (OWI) tapped the rising, fleeing and falling stars of the American and European academy.

In July 1941, General Wild Bill Donovan was asked to direct the Coordinator of Information (COI), which became OSS in 1942.<sup>i</sup> Then OSS and OWI (later to become Voice of America) were one, but later split into two separate organizations. In 1945, when the war ended, the OSS was disbanded, but the famed Research and Analysis (R&A) branch, which at war's end had grown to 900 scholars,<sup>ii</sup> was moved into the CIA in 1947.<sup>iii</sup>

In 1976, Ray S. Cline's *Secrets Spies and Scholars: Blueprint of the Essential CIA* uncloaked Herbert Marcuse as an OSS sociologist in R&A's “German section.”<sup>iv</sup> In 1987, Robin Winks' classic *Cloak and Gown: Scholars in the Secret War* named Paul Massing, Barrington Moore, and Edward Shils as OSS researchers, among many others in all branches of the social sciences.<sup>v</sup> In 1989, Barry Katz revealed the OSS Central European Section of Research and Analysis had hired these members of the Frankfurt School: Marcuse, Franz Neumann, Otto Kirchheimer, and Felix Gilbert;<sup>vi</sup> along with sociologists Morris Janowitz, Edward Shils, and Barrington Moore; and economist Paul Sweezy.<sup>vii</sup>

In 1996, Heideking and Mauch's *American Intelligence and the German Resistance to Hitler* reconfirmed that Franz Neumann, Herbert Marcuse, and Max Horkheimer were members of OSS R&A.<sup>viii</sup> Heideking and Mauch published an interesting OSS memorandum by Marcuse which predicted the various scenarios the Nazi defeat would take, called “Report by the OSS Research and Analysis Branch: Possible Patterns of German Collapse authored jointly by German exiles and former members of the New School for Social Research: Herbert Marcuse, Felix Gilbert, and Franz Neumann, analysts in the Central European Division of R&A since the end of 1942.”<sup>ix</sup> Marcuse, later to become Angela Davis's mentor at Brandeis University, briefly served with the Office of War Information (OWI) before joining OSS.<sup>x</sup>

Previously, Robin Winks' *Cloak and Gown* uncloaked the following OSS sociology at Yale and Harvard: Barry Katz (19) revealed the OSS/OWI wing of the Frankfurt School: Paul Massing, Barrington Moore, Edward Shils, (Cline) Heideking and Mauch's *American Intelligence and the German Resistance to Hitler* (1996, p. 3) confirmed the following members of the OSS R&A: Franz Neumann, Herbert Marcuse, Max Horkheimer. “Report by the OSS Research and Analysis Branch: Possible Patterns of German Collapse”; authored jointly by German exiles and former members of the New School for Social Research: Herbert

Marcuse, Felix Gilbert, and 3 Franz Neumann, analysts in the Central European Division of R&A since the end of 1942. (Mauch, 1996, p. 87)

Claus-Dieter Krohn's *Intellectuals in Exile: Refugee Scholars and the New School for Social Research* outed John Herz, Hans Speier, and Otto Kirchheimer as OSSers. Some great sociologists and classic 20<sup>th</sup> century social theorists were hired by U.S. military intelligence during World War II.

The OSS/OWI and other U.S. military intelligence agencies recycled what Adorno called "the damaged lives of cultural outsiders,"<sup>xi</sup> when the U.S. inherited this treasure trove of German intellectuals after 1933. About 1200 academics lost their jobs in Germany in 1933, when 16% of all university faculty were dismissed. By 1938, it was 39% of all faculty.<sup>xii</sup> Some academic fields were hit harder than others in Germany, particularly the social sciences where 47% of faculty were dismissed.<sup>xiii</sup> Some German-Austrian social scientists found positions in the United States at the New School for Social Research, Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, Black Mountain College in North Carolina, and Roosevelt University in Chicago.<sup>xiv</sup> U.S. universities could not accommodate all these intellectuals fleeing the Nazis; some had to do government consulting work outside the academy to supplement their income.

The Frankfurt School was of course part of this intellectual migration. Frankfurt School legends read like a who's who in the social sciences: Erich Fromm, Herbert Marcuse, Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Paul Lazarsfeld, Otto Kirchheimer, Leo Lowenthal, Friedrich Pollock and Franz Neumann. Franz Neumann is thought to have been the first member of the Frankfurt School to have been inducted into OSS,<sup>xv</sup> bringing Marcuse and some of his fellow Frankfurt Schoolers with him.

The Frankfurt School used two approaches to analyze Nazism, which OSS/OWI utilized: 1) the legal-political-economic approach led by Neumann; 2) the other approach led by Horkheimer, which "explored the psychosocial mechanisms of obedience and sources of violence."<sup>xvi</sup> When Horkheimer took over the Institute for Social Research in 1930, he sponsored an "empirical study of the mentality of workers in the Weimar Republic" to explain why the German proletariat had turned right instead of left. Erich Fromm was the project's first director; "in later years, Anna Hartock, Herta Herzog, Paul Lazarsfeld, and Ernst Schachtel all contributed to the attempt to complete the study."<sup>xvii</sup> It eventually fell to Theodor Adorno to complete the task, which became the sociological classic, *The Authoritarian Personality*.<sup>xviii</sup>

Claus-Dieter Krohn's *Intellectuals in Exile: Refugee Scholars and the New School for Social Research* outed John Herz, Hans Speier, and Otto Kirchheimer as OSSers.<sup>xix</sup> Herz and Kirchheimer's special OSS assignment was civil service and union leadership for the Rand Corporation under Hans Speier.<sup>xx</sup> Sociologist Hans Speier wrote some of the most fascinating sociology outside the academy for OSS during World War II on German war propaganda,<sup>xxi</sup> along with Austrian psychologist Ernst Kris<sup>xxii</sup> (who was Erik Erikson's art teacher in Vienna before the war).<sup>xxiii</sup> Speiers and Kris will be discussed at length in the next section on *funkspiel* (radio games), along with Paul Lazarsfeld and Theodor Adorno, two sociologists not publicly known to have consulted for OWI until this paper.

### **OSS Psychoanalysis of Hitler's Mind**

While it is well known that Donovan recruited Walter Langer to lead the OSS psychoanalysis of Hitler's mind, it is not well known that Carl Jung, Erik Erikson, Hans Speier, and Gordon Allport psychoanalyzed Hitler's mind for OSS-OWI-COI.

Gordon Allport had worked with Murray as early as 1941 on an OSS project to analyze Hitler's mind.<sup>xxiv</sup> Some of this study of Hitler's mind utilized both sociologists' and psychologists' analyses of Hitler's radio speeches. Both Henry Murray<sup>xxv</sup> and Ernst Kris had been mentors to young Erik Homburger Erikson, who was hired by COI (the predecessor to the OSS) to listen to analyze Hitler's radio speeches.<sup>xxvi</sup> Erik Homburger Erikson wrote at least three studies for COI: 1) his analysis of Hitler's radio speeches; 2) "On Submarine Psychology," written for the Committee on National Morale for the Coordinator of Information (COI) (1940); and 3) "On the Feasibility of Making Psychological Observations in Internment Camps" (1940).

Erik Erikson was only one of many German-Austrian social scientists who were employed by U.S. military intelligence (e.g., COI/OSS/OWI/ONI) to listen to and analyze Nazi radio broadcasts, particularly Hitler's speeches. Erikson worked for COI in the early days of the OSS then later the Office of Naval Intelligence

(ONI). Hans Speier and Ernst Kris worked for OSS and OWI. Critical theorist Theodor Adorno and methodologist Paul Lazarsfeld worked as OWI consultants to listen to and analyze America's wartime radio broadcasts.

OSS Family Tree Chart 1.							
OWI Anthro.		Harvard Hitler Psych Psych		OSS-Switzerland London			
Kluckhohn	Murray	Jung	Bancroft	Dulles	Bruce	Donovan	
Benedict	Erikson	Mellon	Mellon		Mellon		
	Kris	Murray			Casey		
	Langer	Dulles	Hyde*	Hyde	Hyde	Hyde	
	Allport						
* I interviewed O.S.S.er Henry Baldwin Hyde 1995-1997 weekly.							
Schlesinger							

### "I Don't Want to Be Jung's Footnote"

#### Jung, Bancroft & Dulles Socialite

Mary Bancroft is the pivot in a Swiss intelligence ménage à trois between her two father figure-lovers, Berne-OSS station chief Allen Dulles, and her therapist, Carl Jung. Dulles once impatiently told Mary, "I don't want to go down in history as a footnote to a case of Jung's!"

In 1944-45, Henry Hyde took four trips to see Allen Dulles in Switzerland to loan Dulles a POW Czech radio operator named Wally for Operation Sunrise. On one of these trips, Hyde traveled from Lyon to just inside the Swiss border where he was met by car by Mary Bancroft. Mary got out of the car; kissed Henry on both cheeks, and drove off in another car with a man. Hyde drove Mary's car to the Geneva Airport and picked up Paul Mellon (OSS-MO), who had just flown in from England. Hyde drove Mellon to a beautiful old hotel overlooking Lausanne where Jung was waiting for him upstairs in a hotel room. Mellon's mission was to hear Jung's psychoanalysis of Hitler's mind and the German collective unconscious. Hyde waited for Mellon in the hotel lobby, then drove Mellon back after his meeting with Jung.

Paul and Mary Mellon had been patients of Jung's since 1938. Mellon wanted to see Jung again during the war; family therapy revisited. Paul and Mary, husband-wife patients of Jung, had raved to their brother-in-law and London OSS station chief, David Bruce, who had married Paul's sister Ailsa, about Jungian psychoanalysis. The David Bruce-Paul Mellon-Allen Dulles OSS cable traffic from Switzerland to London officially confirms Jung's analysis of Hitler's mind for OSS.

Dante called the dead "shades." Jung called what we don't want to know about ourselves, our "shadow." Jung wrote: "In Hitler, every German saw his own shadow, his own worst danger..." Freudian psychohistorians have argued that Hitler was Jung's shadow. In 1934, Jung first denied the rumor that he sent Hitler coded messages over the radio. However, in 1938, Jung did diagnose Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin over the radio on journalist H.R. Knickerbocker's show entitled, "Diagnosing the Dictators." Jung was accused of having Goebbels as his patient, but denied it. However, he admitted meeting Goebbels and seeing Hitler and Mussolini at very close range in the thirties.

By 1943, Jung was rumored to be "Hitler's doctor," which he publicly denied in 1949. However, both Nazis and OSS aristocracy were Jung's patients. Hitler confidante Ernst Hanfstaengl, one of the trusted few to ever see Hitler's "tidy, simple, ascetic bedroom," reported to OSS that "when he showed Dr. Jung a specimen of Hitler's handwriting, the latter immediately exclaimed that it was a typically feminine hand" (Langer). Jung's work on Hitler's femininity is cited in the official OSS study of Hitler's mind by Walter Langer.

Jung told Knickerbocker over the radio that Hitler "has a tremendous mother complex... The unconscious of a man is always represented by a woman; that of a woman always by a man." Jung later elaborated on Hitler's anima-possession by his female shadow: "...in Germany Hitler has an uncanny power of being sensitive to that collective unconscious. It is as if he knows what the nation is really feeling at any given time.... One form under which the unconscious appears to a man is that of a female figure.... Hitler has never gained a healthy relationship to this female figure, which I call the anima. The result is that he is possessed by it. Instead of being truly creative he is consequently destructive."

Jung analyzed Hitler's radio voice as the source of his power. His siren voice is "nothing other than his unconscious into which the German people have projected their own selves, that is, the unconscious of 78 million Germans." Jung was consulted on Hitler's mind not only by Dulles (SI), Mellon (MO), and Bruce (SI) of OSS, but by OSS chief psychologist Henry A. Murray many times over the war.

### **Hitler's Perversion**

#### **Murray, Allport, Erikson**

While Freud's most gifted cast out student-rival-jealous son, Carl Jung, was playing both sides off against the middle in his not so neutral Switzerland, Anna Freud had already psychoanalyzed young Erik Erikson and taught him about her fledgling science of child psychology. Anna Freud gave Erik Erikson the idea to analyze Hitler's childhood, which later made him famous in his first book *Childhood and Society*. Erik Erikson thanked OSS chief psychologist Henry Murray in *Childhood and Society*, where he publicly analyzed Hitler's childhood, for giving him his first intellectual home in the U.S.

Henry A. Murray, chief psychologist at OSS S School [*Ed: spy school?*], co-authored the OSS Hitler study, and developed the Thematic Apperception Test for selective service boards that are still used today by civilian psychological clinics. Murray is an elusive, but important connecting figure in OSS networks.

Academic colleague and father-figure mentoring triangles between OSS chief psychologist Henry Murray-Walter Langer-Ernst Kris (authors of the OSS official Hitler study); Jung-Henry Murray-Erik Erikson (OSS Switzerland-Harvard Clinic/OSS Virginia Farm); and Murray-Gordon Allport-Clyde Kluckhohn (Harvard Clinic/OSS Farm in Virginia) are worth more exploration.

While Hitler's sexuality was psychoanalyzed by Jung, Erikson, Allport, Langer, Murray, and Kris for OSS from 1941 to 1945; the German intelligence Abwehr was also interested in this delicate subject. German intelligence reports by Walter Schellenberg, the best Abwehr officer, noted that Dr. Morrell, who often injected Hitler with drugs, and Hansfstaengl knew that Hitler publicly achieved sexual [\*\*\*\*\*] during his political speeches by talking dirty to the audience, which he regarded as female. Dr. Morrell refused to correct this condition medically because he knew that it was Hitler's public [\*\*\*\*\*] that made his voice powerfully attractive to the masses. OSS reports suggested that Hitler privately achieved [\*\*\*\*\*] by having a woman defecate over his face.

The application of psychological theory to wartime military intelligence adds a fascinating angle to the kaleidoscope called the psychology of war. Carl Jung devised a word association test the Allies used to identify military recruits in WWI. Gordon Allport's classic theories on the "psychology of rumor," Erikson's dramatic play theory, and Jung's theories of extroversion-introversion and collective unconscious were used by OSS in WWII. My paper is the first social science text to connect Allport, Jung and Erikson's classic theories in psychology to OSS espionage training.

### **Sociology & *Funkspiel* (Radio Games)**

#### **Lazarsfeld, Herzog, Adorno, Merton**

During World War II, radio technology and social science theory and methods were to espionage what computers, the Internet and computer science are today. Radios served more purposes than can be discussed here.

In the fall of 1939, the Rockefeller Foundation allotted a grant to Princeton University to set up the Office of Radio Research with Frank Stanton and Hadley Cantril as directors. "Adorno was employed part-time by Lazarsfeld's Radio Research Project at Princeton," which later moved to Columbia University.<sup>xxvii</sup> In the

spring of 1940, the Office of Radio Research was transferred to Columbia University; Lazarsfeld became its director.<sup>xxviii</sup>

One OSS axis was the radio traffic generated by the intersection of Secret Intelligence (SI) with Morale Operations (MO) and Research and Analysis (R&A) in Allen Dulles' busy OSS-Switzerland station in 1944-45. In Switzerland, OSS psychological warfare that Allen Dulles waged against the Nazis included using Carl Jung to psychoanalyze the mind of Adolf Hitler.<sup>xxix</sup> Dulles' wartime mistress Mary Bancroft had been Jung's mistress-patient first;<sup>xxx</sup> Bancroft was the go-between between Dulles and Jung. However, Jung had other close OSS ties through both his former patient Paul Mellon<sup>xxxi</sup> as well as through Henry Murray,<sup>xxxii</sup> OSS chief psychologist at the OSS S School [Ed: *spy school?*] in Virginia.<sup>xxxiii</sup> Murray was also director of the Harvard Psychological Clinic, and a co-author of the official OSS study of Hitler's mind, led by Walter Langer, Ernst Kris, and Bertram Lewin.<sup>xxxiv</sup>

The Frankfurt School, New School for Social Research, and Columbia University's contributions to WWII military intelligence were immense. Sociologists Barrington Moore, Edward Shils, and Paul Massing worked for OSS/OWI (Cline), along with John Herz, Hans Speier, and Otto Kirchheimer (Krohn), and Max Horkheimer. The OSS Report on Possible Patterns of German Collapse was authored jointly by Herbert Marcuse, Felix Gilbert, and Franz Neumann, analysts in the Central European Division of OSS-R&A since 1942 (Heideking and Mauch, 1996).

Herbert Marcuse, Angela Davis' mentor at Brandeis, and Norman O. Brown, who wrote *Life Against Death*, were perhaps the most famous OSSers among New Left academic gurus worshipped by sixties radicals. Psychologist Erik Erikson, anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn and sociologists were also used to developed questions/questionnaires for Allied military interrogators of German and Japanese POWs.

This paper adds Paul Lazarsfeld, Theodor Adorno, Herta Herzog, and Robert Merton to this legendary list of sociologists who analyzed what the Germans called *funkspiel* or radio war propaganda for OWI. OWI was originally part of OSS, and later became Voice of America. OSS-OWI recycled what Adorno called "the damaged lives of cultural outsiders" of European émigré scholars into military intelligence.

Before the war at the University of Vienna, Paul Lazarsfeld created a Research Center for Applied Psychology when Ernst Kris, a co-author of the OSS Hitler Mind Study, was Erik Erikson's art teacher at the University of Vienna. In 1944-45, psychologist Ernst Kris and sociologist Hans Speier wrote *German Radio War Propaganda* for OSS.

Originally, Lazarsfeld and Erich Fromm directed the Frankfurt School's Marxist study of the puzzling fascist tendency of German workers in the 1930s, later finished by Theodor Adorno as the sociological classic, "The Authoritarian Personality" in 1950. During the war, Lazarsfeld was a fat cat grant king at Columbia University, while Adorno and Hannah Arendt at the New School for Social Research were struggling adjuncts picking up bits and pieces of part-time government research work. The successful Lazarsfeld hired the unsuccessful genius Adorno, but Lazarsfeld was unhappy with Adorno's critique of American radio.

Lazarsfeld's Radio Project began in 1937 at Princeton University, moved to Columbia University as the Office of Radio Research in 1939-40, and produced several reports for OWI on American radio war propaganda. Lazarsfeld's office "conducted a pioneering study of voter decision-making in the 1940 and 1944 presidential election.... During the war years the Office was active in governmental research, especially on communications." In 1942, the office published "A Study of Three Radio Broadcasts Intended to Refute Rumors" (Barton, *Guide to the Bureau of Applied Social Research*). In 1943, Robert Merton became associate director of the Office of Radio Research. In 1943 and 1944, Lazarsfeld and Merton jointly wrote, "Studies in Radio and Film Propaganda," and "The Psychological Analysis of Propaganda."

In 1944, the Office of Radio Research was renamed the Bureau of Applied Social Research. During and after the war, Lazarsfeld's Bureau pioneered the use of sociological methods for voter opinion poll research and marketing/advertising for Madison Avenue.

In 1941, Adorno did three studies of American radio for Lazarsfeld's Office of Radio Research. Two of Adorno's studies, "On Popular Music" and "The Radio Symphony," music noted the "commodity character

of modern society, the trend towards monopoly in all sectors of society, including communications; [and] society's reaction to any threats to its preservation by a tightening of its conformist elements...." Adorno saw "standardization" and "pseudo-individuality" as the essential ingredients of popular radio music shows such as NBC's "Music Appreciation Hour." Although Adorno's work was not exactly what Lazarsfeld had in mind, Adorno's analysis of radio in the forties was prophetic for television, film, advertising and mass market book publishing sequels in the last half of the twentieth century.

"Recognition of the familiar was the essence of mass listening, serving more as an end in itself.... Once a formula was successful, the industry plugged the same thing over and over again. The result was to make music into a kind of social cement operating through distraction, displaced wish-fulfillment, and the intensification of passivity."

Adorno's friend in California, the great German novelist Thomas Mann, gave a lecture at OSS HQ on the German way of thinking in Washington during the war. Mann's son worked for OSS. Adorno and Mann's working relationship during Mann's work on *Dr. Faustus* is a fascinating aside. Even Marlene Dietrich and Lotte Lenya were pulled into OSS's radio war.

Lazarsfeld also brought in several of his old Frankfurt School associates to the Bureau: Adorno, Herta Herzog, Leo Lowenthal (OWI section chief) and Franz Neumann from OSS, Marcuse from OSS-OWI. Marcuse was given a full-time position at Lazarsfeld's Bureau. Neumann was the Frankfurt School scholar who joined OSS first, and may have brought others with him. Neumann wrote the classic study of Nazism called *Behemoth* (1982). "Postwar reports continued the communications research tradition, commercial studies mixing with foreign audience analyses for the Voice of America, studies of anti-prejudice propaganda and public health communications" (Barton, p. 2). All that Lazarsfeld learned about influencing public opinion via radio during wartime was applied to television advertising to sell products.

### **How Were Refugee Radical Sociologists and Psychologists Recruited?**

This paper has explored secret triangle between the upper class, intelligence circles and the academy: the spy school aristocracy. There are many routes of passage into this secret club. Teacher's pet became apprentice spy when OSS chief psychologist Henry A. Murray, director of the Harvard Psychological Clinic, recruited young émigré researcher Erik Erikson, giving him his first intellectual home in the U.S. Classmates brought each other into the club; senior professors brought talented junior professors like Ray Cline into the fold. College presidents picked the brains of their best faculty.

OSS recruiters like David Bruce raided college departments and campuses at his old alma mater Princeton, while General Donovan raided his old alma mater Columbia. Other times, it was only after the recruitment that the old school bonds were there to rediscover. This is a book about ruling class spy triangles: the Ivy League triangle between bookworms, aristocrats, and spies; the triad between social science, espionage, and radio technology (sci-spy-techies); and the intelligence overlap between the triple social sciences of sociology, anthropology, and psychology during World War II.

President-General Dwight David Eisenhower first drew a picture of "the military-industrial complex" triangle between the U.S. government, the military and the munitions industry. This book explores another secret triangle between the upper class, intelligence circles and the academy: the spy school aristocracy. There are many routes of passage into this secret club. Teacher's pet became apprentice spy when OSS chief psychologist Henry A. Murray, director of the Harvard Psychological Clinic, recruited young émigré researcher Erik Erikson, giving him his first intellectual home in the U.S. Classmates brought each other into the club, senior professors brought talented junior professors like Ray Cline into the fold. OSS cells were designed to be triangles. To enter into OSS, a trusted insider had to vouch for the new asset to their case officer. This maintained the upper class structure of the OSS; bringing in only friendly newcomers from the lower strata who were amicable with the upper crust.

Class warfare became class attraction between leftist academics and center right old boys in the fight against fascism during World War II. The OSS intermingled high society with "the best and the brightest," which reenacted their Ivy League schooldays, stimulating both old boys and bright boys. Aristocrats and academics liked, loved, hated, admired, rivaled, respected and tried to impress each other to death.

The following chapters chart the exciting beginning of how and why psychologists, anthropologists and sociologists were recruited by OSS elites who had been students at the same schools where the brightest

stars of the American academy taught. Professors were recruited who brought along their brightest graduate students, RAs, TAs, colleagues, friends, wives, lovers and mentors into the war effort. OSS family and kinship patterns have rarely been studied at this close range, revealing that intelligence is a family affair of: parent-child spies, legacies, schoolmates, teacher-students, sibling rivals, childhood friends, brother-in-laws, sexual jealousies, passionate adulteries coexisting with marriages of convenience, lifelong friends, long term rivals, their ex-lovers, and their lovers' lovers. Contrary to the fictional lone spy out in the cold, OSS was actually a high society of spies, playing in a childhood schoolyard, wearing their school colors, a community as tight as a cult with General Donovan as guru, with initiation rituals, rites of passage, and great social control over its members: the power of gossip in high society.

OSS organized and unified the lonely, lost adult children and wives of American expatriates, and turned them into an American global village, a worldly small town. These jetsetters, internationals, American upper class marginals, biculturals, and triculturals who spoke several languages had lived in so many countries they were no longer sure which country they belonged to. The war made these prodigal sons, daughters and ex-wives feel American. OSS brought them home at last to the country their families had left.

OSS was a romantic masculinity cult, modeled after an English men's club where men really liked, befriended and loved each other. OSS males bonded in the English way, and male-female bonded as the Greeks knew, and OSS proved: "An army of lovers cannot fail."

At the heart of this study is the basic question: how was social science used as espionage in World War II? This question inevitably raise a number of related questions of particular interest to World War II buffs, historians, sociologists, psychoanalysts, and anthropologists, including: What is the relationship of academia to espionage? What social science classics can be traced back to OSS/OWI warwork? How can classic European and American social science be separated from World War II military intelligence? Did academics go beyond bookworming for OSS? What roles did social scientists play in the intelligence reports that lead to the decision to deploy the atom bomb? What is the relationship between science, communications technology and espionage? Which psychologists and sociologists were used by OSS to develop character studies of foreign leaders and to analyze Hitler talk radio and the lure of fascism for the German masses? Why did OSS recruit so many upper class men and women? Finally, what did WWII sociologists of radio war learn that is applied to television and Internet war today? For the scholarly audience, the book provides a valuable history of the origin of university affiliation with U.S. intelligence; for social theorists, a reexamination of classic social science theories in new light; for social scientists, a social history of American anthropology and sociology at Columbia University. For the psychoanalytic community, this is a new discussion of the history of psychology's collusion with military intelligence.

<sup>i</sup> George C. Chalou, *The Secret War: The Office of Strategic Services in World War II. Proceedings of the Conference on the Office of Strategic Services in World War II* (June 11-12, 1991) sponsored by the National Archives and Records Administration. Washington, DC: National Archives Trust Fund Board, 1992. See also Bradley F. Smith, *The Shadow Warriors: OSS and The Origins of the CIA*. New York: 1983; and Kermit Roosevelt, *War Report of the OSS*. New York, 1976.

<sup>ii</sup> Barry Katz, "The OSS and the Development of the Research and Analysis Branch," in *Ibid.*, pp. 43-47.

<sup>iii</sup> Ray S. Cline, *Secrets, Spies and Scholars: Blueprint of the Essential CIA*. Washington, DC: Acropolis, 1976. Cline also names Ralph Bunche as an OSSer. See also Chalou, *op. cit.*

<sup>iv</sup> Cline, 1976, p. 77.

<sup>v</sup> Robin Winks, *Cloak and Gown: Scholars in the Secret War, 1939-61*. (New York: 1987). See also Robin Winks, "Getting the Right Stuff, FDR, Donovan, and the Quest for Professional Intelligence," in Chalou, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-38.

<sup>vi</sup> Barry Katz, *Foreign Intelligence: Research and Analysis in the Office of Strategic Services, 1942-1945*. Cambridge, MA, 1989.

<sup>vii</sup> Barry Katz, in Chalou, *op. cit.*, p.p. 44-45.

<sup>viii</sup> Heideking and Mauch, *American Intelligence and the German Resistance to Hitler* (1996, p. 3)

<sup>ix</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87

<sup>x</sup> [Ed.: blank in original]

<sup>xi</sup> Adorno in Claus-Dieter Krohn, *Intellectuals in Exile*, p. 218; pp. 11-12

<sup>xii</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208.

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- <sup>xiii</sup> Ibid., p. 11-12.
- <sup>xiv</sup> Ibid., p.5-6. After 1933, the New School, which is intimately linked with the Rockefeller Foundation, attracted the most refugee scholars in the U.S.
- <sup>xv</sup> Katz, *op. cit.*, Wink, *op. cit.*
- <sup>xvi</sup> Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School & the Institute of Social Research 1923-50* (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1973) p. 168-69.
- <sup>xvii</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>xviii</sup> Theodor W. Adorno with Else Frenkel-Brunswick, Daniel T. Levinson & R. Newitt Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: 1950).
- <sup>xix</sup> Claus-Dieter Krohn, *Intellectuals in Exile Refugee: Scholars and the New School for Social Research* (University of Massachusetts, 1993, translated by Rita and Robert Kimber, foreword by Arthur J. Vidich) pp. 176-177. See also Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research 1923-1950* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1973).
- <sup>xx</sup> Jay, *op. cit.*, p. 176-77.
- <sup>xxi</sup> Ernst Kris and Hans Speier, *German Radio Propaganda: Report on Home Broadcasting during the War*. (New York: Oxford, 1944). See also Ernst Kris, Walter Langer, Henry A. Murray, and Bertram Lewin, *The Mind of Adolph Hitler*. See also Ernst Kris, "The Danger of Propaganda," *American Imago*, II, 1940, pp. 1-42. Ernst Kris, "Some Problems of War Propaganda: A Note on Propaganda, New and Old," *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, Vol.
- <sup>xxii</sup> 1943, pp. 381-99. Ernst Kris, "German Propaganda Instructions of 1933," *Social Research*, Vol. IX, No. 1, February 1942, pp. 62-63.
- <sup>xxiii</sup> Robert Coles, *Erik Erikson: The Growth of His Work*, Boston: Little Brown, & Co. 1970.
- <sup>xxiv</sup> Murray wrote in his study of Hitler's mind on file at NARA: "Sources of information for this analysis.... A paper published by W.H.D. Vernon, 'Hitler, the Man—Notes for a Case History,' *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 1942, 37, 295-308, was written under my general supervision and contains most of the ideas of Professor G.W. Allport and myself on this topic as far as they were crystallized in the fall of 1941."
- <sup>xxv</sup> *Henry A. Murray's Sadism:*  
 The strange "case of Murr." Born into Averill Harriman's upper class Fifth Avenue world on May 13, 1893, Harry Murray was his mother's least favorite child (*HAM, Love's Story Told*, p. 7) Bossed and bullied around by his older sister Virginia, Harry was sent to Groton in 1906 to toughen up. Dean Acheson was one of his roommates (*HAM*, p. 25) at Groton where he encountered his second taste of sadomasochistic bullying: "Pumping....a ritual in which the upper-classmen ...turned upside down so that water could be pumped into his nose." Pumping didn't happen to Harry, but he witnessed it. "Harry ...avoided the humiliation of being elected May Queen and forced to dance in skirts before a crowd of boys who laughed and then ran their strange victim down." (*HAM*, p. 23) Harry did note however, that at first introduction to male communal life in the showers, he was kinked in with an erection and was laughed at. (*HAM*, p23)  
 It appears that the Groton sadomasochistic gang rape of the male May Queen turned Harry on, since he replicated it for twenty years in ritualistic [\*\*\*\*\*] sex with Christiana Morgan. (*Love's Story Told* and *Translate This Darkness*) Christiana Morgan co-authored the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) with Harry, although he later stole it completely from her. Harry dressed as a woman in skirts while he beat Christiana with whips and used other medieval instruments to torture her before they had sex at their tower she built with his money, modeled after Carl Jung's Tower in Bollingen, Switzerland. Christiana "was beautiful and she knew it."
- Murray, Moby Dick & Melville:*  
 In August 1924, Harry sailed on the Scythia across the Atlantic and assisted the surgeon Bland-Sutton in an emergency, it was Harry's first human surgery. Bland-Sutton, who had read Moby Dick twelve times, introduced Harry to Melville's Moby Dick. (*HAM*, p. 1)  
 At Harvard, he was the exact opposite of Ted Kaczynski; Harry was a preppy with the best social connections, a DEKE and member of Hasty Pudding (*HAM*, p. 27). Harry went to Columbia Presbyterian for medical school and then did research at Rockefeller Institute. (*Love's Story Told*, p. 53)  
 In *Love's Story Told*, the author thanks these people for interviews about HAM: Mrs. Gordon Allport, Erik Erikson, Evelyn Hooker, Alfred Kazin, Kenneth Kenniston, Rollo May, Lewis Mumford, Talcott Parsons, David Riesman, Edwin Shneidman, Neil Smelser, Robert Penn Warren, and Alan Watts. (*HAM*, p. ix-x)
- <sup>xxvi</sup> For more on Erikson's Hitler studies, see his classic, "Hitler's Imagery and German Youth" in 1942 *Psychiatry* 5, pp. 475-93; which becomes his classic "The Legend of Hitler's Childhood" in *Childhood and Society* (1950).
- <sup>xxvii</sup> [Ed.: blank in original]
- <sup>xxviii</sup> [Ed.: blank in original]
- <sup>xxix</sup> Jurgen Heideking and Christoph Mauch, *American Intelligence and the German Resistance to Hitler* (Westview, 1996), p. 40. See also "The First German Surrender The End of the Italian Campaign," Report by Allen W. Dulles and Gero von Gaevernitz, Bern, May 22, 1945 at the National Archives (NARA), RG 226, E. 110, Box 1, Folder 11B. See also Mary Bancroft, "Jung and His Circle," *Psychological Perspectives* 6:2 (1975), Jung Centenary Issue II.
- <sup>xxx</sup> Bancroft, Ibid.. See also Mary Bancroft, *Autobiography of a Spy*.
- <sup>xxxi</sup> Heideking and Mauch, *op. cit.*, See also Paul Mellon, *Reflections in a Silver Spoon: a Memoir* (New York: Morrow, 1992).

- xxxii Dialogue with Henry A. Murray by Richard Evans, 1964 videotape series with Carl Jung, Gordon Allport, Erik Erikson. See also Murray and G.W. Allport's report on Hitler's mind in OSS files at the National Archives, NARA, RG226, Entry 92.
- xxxiii Henry Murray, *Assessment of Men: Selection of Personnel for the Office of Strategic Services*. The OSS Assessment Staff (1948) (New York: Rinehart, 1948, p. vii.)
- xxxiv Henry A. Murray, Walter Charles Langer, Ernst Kris, Bertram D. Lewin. *A psychological analysis of Adolph Hitler: his life and legend*. Washington: M. O. Branch, Office of Strategic Services, 1943. (165 pp.) See also Bradley F. Smith, *The Shadow Warriors*, *op. cit.*, p. 276-77

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## Related papers by Susan Cavin, Ph.D.

### *War Propaganda: From WWII Radio to internet Terrorism & Video War Games [2006]*

Abstract: Newspapers were to WWI what radio was to WWII, what TV was to Vietnam, and internet video and digital photographs are to the Iraqi War. In WWII, fascist agitators mixed Freud's work on the unconscious with radio propaganda, which was analyzed by Adorno, Ernst Kris, Hans Speier, and Ernst Simmel for military intelligence (OSS/OWI). Some WWII radio heckler techniques have been recycled into US neo-con talk radio/TV shows since 9/11. Today, shaky cam internet beheadings and terrorist VCRs battle americasarmy.com (video war games) for the hearts and minds of internet-video addicted young males.

[http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p94916\\_index.html](http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p94916_index.html)

### *The Use of Social Scientists in World War II Prisoner of War Camps [2007]*

Abstract: The use of psychologists by the U.S. military at the Guantanamo POW camp is not as new to military history as journalistic media reports suggest. There is a straight historical line that can be traced from Guantanamo back to WWII. The use of social scientists by the military even dates back to WWI, when Carl Jung was Commandant of a British POW camp in Switzerland. In WWII, the U.S. military used teams of anthropologists and sociologists in Japanese relocation centers in the Southwest. Anthropologists Ruth Benedict and Alexander Leighton were involved in studying Japanese POWs for the Office of War Information. Erik Homburger Erikson studied German POWs at POW camps in North America for COI/OSS.

[http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p175702\\_index.html](http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p175702_index.html)

### *Adorno. Lazarsfeld & The Princeton Radio Project, 1938-1941 [2008]*

Abstract: Theodor Adorno was hired by Paul Lazarsfeld as the Musical Director of the Princeton Radio Project, 1938-1941. It was out of the Princeton Radio Project that network television eventually grew. Adorno's view of how "advertising turns to terror" did not fit in with Lazarsfeld's Princeton Radio Project, which became the Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research. Adorno's analysis of American radio as a means of social control during WWII still has relevance today for the media of television, particularly his concepts of "standardization" and "pseudo-individuality."

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